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at points advantageous for defense or economy, and the people who live in one vicinity are known by a name referring to the natural feature which marks the area. Often the members of the extended families concerned are, or become, loosely affiliated through intermarriage, but the bonds between them need not be more than those stemming from proximity of residence and the common local name. These extended families which recognize some natural feature as their home or base and share a common name which attests to this can be referred to collectively as a local group. The extended families of a local group may be separated from each other by some distance. A ridge or a mountain spur may intervene, or one camp cluster may be on one side of the mountain which acts as their common locus while a second extended family inhabits the other side. Nevertheless, all are within relatively easy reach of one another and can be quickly contacted for social, military, or religious events. Normally, the contacts afforded by the three segments which have been outlined —the elementary family, the extended family, and the local group —monopolize the experiences of the first years of the child.

EARLY TRAINING AND DISCIPLINE

The rearing and training of children are among the most serious of adult preoccupations. Supernatural help is sometimes sought for these purposes. Though the guidance received from his relatives is criticized if a child grows up to be worthless, he is not exempt from effort of his own. In the training process the child's co-operation is necessary, and an interest in the fundamentals of the folkways is deemed an essential step to informed adulthood.

The child grows into the meanings of his culture gradually and not without amusing misinterpretations. One informant recalled his first sight of the masked dancers. Noting that they wore kilts, he asked a man who stood near by if they were women and was abashed to receive a negative answer. No other explanation was offered, and he was too shy to inquire further. It was some time before he began to understand the character of these dance groups.

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867 602 [601] [576] Another episode concerns a small boy who had just become aware of the "polite form" of speech, that indirect mode of address in use between affinal relatives who must conduct themselves with restraint when they are together. He approached his grandmother's home where there were visitors before whom he was too bashful to appear and, in this most formal manner, asked if the guests were still inside. He was, of course, greeted by [606] laughter. He did not realize until later that he "was doing what a son-in-law does who thinks his mother-in-law is in a certain place and wants to make sure before he goes in."

867 881 A comparable mistake was made by some little boys at a girl's puberty rite. During the ceremony the adolescent girl runs around a basket tray placed to the east of the ceremonial structure. In her path, that the benefits of the ceremony may accrue to them also, run young boys and even old men. "When the girls ran around the basket, we boys were expected to run after them. At first, we thought it was a real race, and several of us beat the girls. Then one old man told us that it was not the way, that we were not supposed to pass them, so we stayed behind the other three times."

869 764 [761] Even when the cultural ethic has been unmistakably indicated, a youngster may lag in conforming to it. One man was reluctant to talk about death or burial, for horror of such topics is great, but he confessed that this had not always been his state of mind:

> I remember that whenever a funeral procession was passing by we were told not to look at it. But we did look at it whenever the old people were not around.
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> I once asked my grandmother where they were taking a dead man who was being carried away. She told me not to look at the procession. Then she told me that they were putting the man away; that he couldn't walk, or dance, or eat, or sing by himself any more; that they were putting him under the ground.
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> "But if they are putting him under the ground, how will he keep the dirt out of his eyes?" I asked. She explained to me that he was all fixed up so that no dirt would get in his eyes. It was the first time I had ever thought about death. I began to ask more questions of my grandmother, but she told me that he couldn't come back any more and to stop talking about it.
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> [857] A few days later we children played funeral. We killed grasshoppers and buried them.
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> I wasn't afraid until I was about seven years old. Then I learned about ghosts, and from that time on I was pretty much afraid.

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The memory of training is synonymous with the consciousness of self: 867 865

As far back as I can remember my father and mother directed me how to act. They used to tell me, "Do not use a bad word which you wouldn't like to be used to you. Do not feel that you are anyone's enemy. In playing with children remember this: do not take anything from another child. Don't take arrows away from another boy just because you are bigger than he is. Don't take his marbles away. Don't steal from your own friends. Don't be unkind to your playmates. If you are kind now, when you become a man you will love your fellow-men.

"When you go to the creek and swim, don't duck anyone's children. Don't ever fight a girl when you're playing with other children. Girls are weaker than boys. If you fight with them, that will cause us trouble with our neighbors.

"Don't laugh at feeble old men and women. That's the worst thing you can do. Don't criticize them and make fun of them. Don't laugh at anybody or make fun of anybody.

"This is your camp. What little we have here is for you to eat. Don't go to another camp with other children for a meal. Come back to your own camp when you are hungry and then go out and play again.

"When you start to eat, act like a grown person. Just wait until things are served to you. Do not take bread or a drink or a piece of meat before the rest start to eat. Don't ask before the meal for things that are still cooking, as many children do. Don't try to eat more than you want. Try to be just as polite as you can; sit still while you eat. Do not step over another person, going around and reaching for something.

"Don't run into another person's camp as though it was your own. Don't run around anyone's camp. When you go to another camp, don't stand at the door. Go right in and sit down like a grown person. Don't get into their drinking water. Don't go out and catch or hobble horses and ride them as if they belonged to you the way some boys do. Do not throw stones at anybody's animals.

"When a visitor comes, do not go in front of him or step over him. Do not cut up while the visitor is here. If you want to play, get up quietly, go behind the visitor, and out the door."

The foundations for the sexual division of labor are early laid: 868

"Your work will be to make baskets and to build fires, my daughter. Keep busy like your mother. Watch your mother as she is going through her daily work. When you get older, you will do the same things. It doesn't hurt you to pick up little sticks of wood and carry them in. Stay here by the fire. Watch your mother and see what she is doing around the camp."

When my mother and father talked to both my sister and me, they would say, "This means you. This means you," pointing to each of us. And many times my father would say to my sister, "There are things which can be told to you

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868 by your mother, and you can learn all the time. I have to train this boy. Of course, he may not hear part of the time, but I have to tell him what he should do, what he has to go through."

868 462 All adults feel the responsibility for furnishing the child with information appropriate to his age and sex:

The boys watch the men when they are making bows and arrows; the man calls them over, and they are forced to watch him. The women, on the other hand, take the girls out and show them what plants to use for baskets, what clay for pots. And at home the women weave the baskets, sew moccasins, and tan buckskin before the girls. While they are at work, they tell the students to watch closely so that when they reach womanhood nobody can say anything about their being lazy or ignorant. They teach the girls to cook and advise them about picking berries and other fruits and gathering food.

867 554 Not much importance is attributed to distinctions of status, but there are band and local group leaders and their families who are conscious of their position and good birth:

The word [good status] includes the idea that they are better educated in the Indian way. More pains are taken with such children; they are kept out of mischief more. They should not resent things easily. They are supposed to be [578] better bred. Quarreling should be beneath them. That is why, when a man is unreasonable or insulting, they say, "Even though you are of worthless stock, you should try to hold yourself back." I hear lots of boys of good families being instructed by their parents. They are told to act accordingly. I heard one girl [521] called down by her father for gossiping. She was told that those of her family did not do this and that she was acting like a trashy person.

"These people," said another informant, "don't want their children to get in any mixup; they are jealous of the reputations of their sons and daughters." So important did training in childhood loom to this man that he added: "A leader's son never fails to make good, for he is trained and advised from boyhood up to manhood."

867 574 576 The difference in social atmosphere with which various families surround the child has been noted thus:

At our camp my father and mother used to say, "Respect whoever comes to your camp. If it is just at mealtime when they come to your camp, just tell them to sit down. Then feed them first." Most of these Indians are this way.

But there are great differences among different families. I've noticed it. A man might have visitors at his home just about mealtime. His wife might cook

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a big meal. Generally, she would serve the visitor first, even if the visitor was a woman. After the visitors had gone, the man might get after his wife and ask her, "Why should you feed those people first? Why didn't you feed me first?"

If a visitor happens to hear of this, he will say, "I'm sorry I went over there. I didn't know that man was like that. I won't go over there any more."

The child must early be made sensible of certain dangers and must learn to be quiet at a command. Enemies often lurk perilously near, and the encampments may suffer severe loss before help can be summoned. Often a child's first memories have to do with threats concerning a dread and shadowy being who preys upon noisy or disobedient children. "The word *gode* is enough. They don't try to describe him. The children become afraid of the word."

Another sound which the child learns to respect is the call of the poorwill. This bird is known by the same name as the masked dancers, for it is thought that the call of the poorwill resembles the traditional call of the dancer as he approaches and "worships" the fire.

When I was a boy, there was a bird that sang only at night. We were told that its song was the voice of the clown of the masked dancers who took bad children. We were pretty quiet and well behaved when we heard that song at night. I realize now that the song is pretty, but when I was a child it frightened me and I disliked it.

This masked-dancer clown, or Gray One, is one of the terrors of childhood. "The clown is going to put you in a basket and carry you off somewhere. Say this to a little child and he is going to mind right away."

The threat of the clown is maintained as long as possible to keep the children out of the way of prowling enemies and predatory animals. When warnings of the clown's arrival lose their efficacy, Gray One himself may "appear."

Suppose now that children are playing out there and won't mind at all. All right! The parents will say, "Let's scare those children."

They go way around through the woods somewhere. Maybe a big fat man goes out there with them; and they put white paint on him. They make him look like the clown. Well, he goes over to the other side of the place where those children are playing in the brush. He takes a little switch or a stick along with him. Then, when he is about twenty yeards away, he shows his face, and one of

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taken by the raconteur to point the moral. Such instruction is not always taken in good spirits. "My father told me many stories, but sometimes I got very sleepy. Sometimes I got contrary and wanted to go to bed," an informant admitted. Usually, however, the children look forward to these evenings and often beg a grandparent to arrange one.

The most important story a child hears at this time is that of the birth of the culture hero and his victorious encounters with the monsters. Familiarity with this account is a necessary background for much ritual. Parts of the story are dramatized in the girl's puberty rite. Ceremonial songs and many ritual touches refer to the protagonists of this legend. Grama grass, for example, appears in ceremonial contexts because Child of the Water used it for an arrow in his encounter with Giant, one of the monsters. Other stories of the culture hero and his mother further acquaint the child with their holiness and the great respect he owes them.

Scarcely less important is the set of stories devoted to the Mountain People, supernaturals inhabiting the interiors of sacred mountains. These Mountain People, who are impersonated by the masked dancers, are described in the legends as potential sources of supernatural power and as protectors of the tribal territory.

Most appreciated by the young people, however, is the Coyote cycle, a series of episodes of the pranks of the trickster. Coyote violates all the social and sexual conventions of the society, and this permits the narrator to contrast "Coyote's way" with more approved conduct. Coyote stories "make a child sleepy," and so it is often necessary to tickle his nose or tap him lightly on the head in order to keep him awake. Through the Coyote tales the child gets some hint of the imperfectibility of man and of the inevitability of moral turpitude in the world: "Coyote stories are used as a lesson. And they still blame Coyote today for the foolish things humans do."

Other tales serve to imbue the child with the proper attitudes toward baneful or helpful animal life, toward supernaturals, and toward neighboring peoples.

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AN APACHE LIFE-WAY

A practical purpose is credited to another activity:

We used to chase birds and butterflies. We would let the butterflies go after catching them. Both boys and girls did it. The old people said it would make us fast runners. In wet weather we could catch big birds. Their wings get wet in the rain and they can't go fast.

An unusual type of recreation involves the bat:

The boys used to build a fire at night. When the bats came by, they would throw their moccasins at them. They would get them in the moccasins and kill them. That's how the Indian boys used to play at night.

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The children imitate many of the social and ceremonial practices of their elders:

During this time Old Man J., a lively old man, used to come out and sing for us while we danced the masked-dancer dance in the evening. The old people would be there and watch. We didn't dress up. The old people didn't allow us to dress up, for it was said to bring evil influence. The songs which were sung were N.'s songs. J. would ask him if it would be all right to sing these songs, and N. would tell him to go ahead.

Actually the boys learn much more than the steps and songs of the masked dancers on these occasions. For instance, the exchange between the two old men must have impressed upon them that ceremonial songs are personally owned and that permission must be obtained from the owner before using them. When the children are playing masked dancer away from the camps, they sometimes violate the rule about wearing costumes and make headdresses to wear and wands to carry.

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Social dances are of increasing interest to the children as they grow older. "We used to dance the circle dance too, just the boys. Sometimes the old men would join in and sing for us. They certainly had a good time watching us."

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The children organize elaborate and dramatic imitations of adult occupations. They hunt, with tall grass as the woods and playmates for the game animals. They go scouting and defend themselves against enemy attacks, using spears made from sunflower and lupine stalks.

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Boys and girls play house in a realistic manner. They build small homes modeled after the regular residences (often making them large enough to enter), play man and wife, entertain visitors to whom they extend the amenities, and arrange feasts with provisions concocted from sticks and mud:

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The girls see that at home the mother has a cradle and is carrying a baby around. So they play mother sometimes with an Indian doll and cradle made by their mothers. The girls carry the cradles on their backs as their mothers do. And the boys pick up their little arrows and hunt birds just as if they were hunting deer. All the Indian children play just the way their parents live at home. The children build little brush homes. 857 867 868

In this domestic play no overt sexuality is involved. The simulation of the husband-wife relationship is confined to an imitation of the industrial pursuits of the adults. The absence of more direct sexual experimentation is to be explained, doubtless, by the fact that boys rarely continue to participate in this form of amusement after the age of six or seven. It is then that little boys become eager to join older male companions in hunts for small birds and mammals and to engage in play not considered appropriate for girls. This pleasure in manly affairs is strongly encouraged by the elders. From the exciting hunts, arrow games, and mimic battles of childhood the boy plunges into the rigors of his training period. Thus he is absorbed in masculine concerns and diverted from contacts with girls until the onset of physiological maturity again awakens him to an interest in them. 857 858 868 [867]

Besides playing in the brush houses built for daytime games, the boys sometimes construct beds in trees for "camping out" at night. 857 513

You find a forked branch in a tree right by your camp. It should not be too high; you want a place close to the ground. You can put cross-branches there and fix it up nicely. Then you can sleep there. The boys did it mostly. I used to do it. We did it in the summertime, just because we liked it, because we liked the fresh air.

For the grown man the hoop-and-pole ground, from which the women are barred, is a favorite retreat where things strictly masculine are discussed. To play the hoop-and-pole game, two men slide poles after a hoop; the object is to make the hoop fall upon the butt end of the pole. Pole and hoop are marked with incised bands, and, according to the relationship of these bands after the throw, a count is made. The game has definite ceremonial overtones. It is well for a man to be an expert player, for lively betting attends every contest. Boys are eager to learn this game: 526 [562] [525] 868 [857]

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593 The child is psychologically prepared for the *šilah* relationship
605 by the comments, stories, and actual behavior of adults: "Your
834 father and mother, when you and your sister are both at home,
867 do not say any wrong word. They are very careful." Thus the child, as soon as he is old enough to appreciate the cross-currents of social attitudes, becomes aware that the appearance of a *šilah* compels a certain decorum in speech and action.

A Chiricahua man and woman related in this way hardly speak to each other. Cousins, or a sister and a brother, could not even go out walking together. They can't joke much. Something holds them apart, so that they don't get too familiar. They aren't lectured about it when they are young. They just sense it and see it; it is taken for granted.

I notice the restraint in my own wife's family. My wife's *šilah* [father's brother's son] doesn't stay long when my wife is around. He has never been known to joke with her. He will with me. She takes the attitude that she wants to serve him when he is around. She acts in a formal way as if she wanted to serve him and please him. This man has a sister who is quite free with my wife. They are just reserved to the opposite sex.

In the old days those [a boy and a girl] who had the same father and mother hardly spoke to each other. They would sit there and wouldn't say anything. They talked to the father and mother in each other's presence, but not to each other. If joking [risqué] goes on when they are both there, one of them has to go away to show respect.

If you come where your sister is alone, you put disgrace on the whole family. If the mother and father aren't at home and the sister is alone, you must leave the camp. You must stay somewhere else. You must go to the sunny side of a hill or in the shade and sleep until your parents come home. Also, when the whole family is together, you must show respect for your sister. This feeling begins when you are about six or seven years old, when you are just big enough to
[857] understand what is being said to you. At that age you can still play with your
[882] sisters because perhaps you have no other playmates. But after you are fourteen or fifteen, you don't play with your sisters any more. In the old days a boy would not even accompany his sister to an Indian dance.

593 Many households where there are older children find it con-
605 venient to erect an additional shelter where the boy can stay if
834 he should find his sister the sole occupant of the family dwelling. Brothers and sisters feel so uncomfortable in each other's presence that they do not court situations which will throw them together. But they are members of the same household, and it is

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not possible for them to practice total avoidance, considered the ultimate in respect and reserve. The possibility of complete avoidance does exist for cousins of opposite sex, however, since they are of different households. One man who was asked how he would demonstrate his respect for his female cousin answered, "A boy shows his respect for a girl cousin by not visiting her." 605 834 [593] [574]

From this conception of cousin relations it is not a great jump to total avoidance, and we find that some persons, though by no means all, do practice such avoidance. This is the only instance in which a true blood relative is avoided, though the married man responds to one of the most inclusive lists of affinal avoidances on record. [602]

Avoidance of cousins of opposite sex "starts when they are old enough to understand such things, when they have grown to maturity, and lasts all their lives." 605 834 867

Sɨlah who are cousins, not sister and brother, sometimes hide from each other. R. hides from J.; they are cousins. They cannot see each other at all. It wouldn't be done between sister and brother, or between two boy cousins or two girl cousins. Cousins do it because they love each other very much and wish to show their respect. After they start it, they are very careful what they say about each other, for their relation is one of respect, like that of a man to his mother-in-law. [593]

J. and S. are cousins. They have hidden from each other all their lives. When cousins do this, they give presents to each other in the beginning, and after that they help each other all the time. They hide from each other from that time on just as a man hides from his mother-in-law. Either the man or the woman can start it. You can't hide from a sister or an aunt. It is only between cousins of opposite sex that this is done, not between two men or two women. You cannot arrange with a cousin to use the polite form only;[14] it must be hiding or nothing. Of course, if you must speak to your cousin who hides from you, you might stand behind a tree, and then you would use polite form in talking to her. K. and Mrs. C. were cousins who hid from each other too. [431] [606]

I had a cousin. Just because she liked me, she wanted me to do it. I had been away to school. When I got back, she gave me a saddle and bridle. Then she asked me to hide from her. I said, "No." I told her I had been to school, that I didn't want to go the old way, that maybe the government would get after me if I did. So she said, "All right." This was about 1897. [177]

[14] For an explanation of polite form see pp. 171–81.

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reciprocals, one term, in its primary sense, stands for mother's mother and also, when a woman is speaking, for daughter's child; another indicates father's mother and likewise, when a woman is speaking, son's child, etc. 601 603

It is a feature of this kinship system that siblings and cousins of the grandparent are addressed by the same term as the grandparent, regardless of sex. For example, the term for mother's mother also designates her sisters, brothers, and cousins. Reciprocally, the brothers or sisters of a woman will address this same term to their sister's daughter's child, male or female.

For the great-grandparent–great-grandchild relationship the terms of the grandparent-grandchild set are utilized. There is no strong feeling concerning the functions of the great-grandparents and no specialization of terminology. If they are active enough to participate in social, economic, and ceremonial matters, they are treated much as are grandparents. It is the duty of children to support old people who are so far past their prime, and members of the great-grandparent generation receive the extra consideration to which their extreme age entitles them. 603 [601] [888]

CHILDHOOD'S END

Childhood is, strictly speaking, a period of preparation for adult standards. The view of the world is not softened for the young beholder. The child and the adult often listen together to accounts of the rigors of the hunt, of the hardships and glories of war, and of the cruelties of the enemy. "As soon as I was old enough to know," said one informant, "I was told who were our enemies." Another man prefaced an exceptionally vivid description of a war dance with the remark, "When I was just old enough to understand and remember it, I saw them go through this performance." 867 [858] [868]

The child is early introduced to the goals and values of the society. An old man mentioned hunting as one of the first experiences he could recall. He was with older children who were shooting birds with slings, and he followed them around to see what they were doing. [868] [857]

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868 ried their guns and belt no matter how close they were to camp. Awake or asleep
526 they were never without their guns. After this ride C. wanted to show those
866 people just how he had trained his boy. They were on the sandy side of the hill. Nobody was on that hill.

C. told the boy, "Take your shirt off so that you'll have no excuse of something to trip over." All the men watched from the side. C. told the boy to stand on a gentle slope. He stood about fifty feet away from the boy.

C. took his gun and put cartridges in it. He is a sharpshooter; he shoots from the hip. He said, "All right, you start! You go down there."

The boy began to dodge and run. C. began to shoot. You could see the dust flying all around that boy, but he didn't get hit!

The boy is constantly reminded that this training must serve him for the raid and warfare situations which he will face.

The parents and grandparents all advise the boy. They tell him to run up hills so that in emergencies he can get along by himself, for in wartime, they tell him, nobody will go back for him, and he must keep up.

[867] They advise the boys that in case of war they should have a strong feeling that they will overcome the enemy; they tell the boy that the enemy is as frightened as he is; and that, if he puts on a brave front and charges, the enemy may run. And they tell the boys that, after coming home from a successful
[626] battle, their relatives and friends will be proud of them. Cowards are talked
[581] about, told nasty things before their faces, and are in disgrace. A girl would not
[577] marry a lazy or cowardly man because the women say he wouldn't be a good provider. The boys know all this.

As time goes on group tactics assume increasing importance in the physical education of the novice. Where there are a number of boys of the proper age in the local group, they are brought together frequently for the training tasks.

Suppose I have a boy in the group. I give him equipment and tell him to go out there. The boys line up, ready to run. Maybe two men go along and see that the boys don't stop running. Then along comes a man with water in a little container and says, "Take a mouthful, but don't swallow it; hold it in your mouth. You are going to run four miles with this water in your mouth."

They all start out, not running full speed, but trotting. When they come back they are inspected. Each man inspects his boy to see if he still has the water in his mouth. He says, "All right, spit that water out." If the boy swallows the water on the way, the trainers see that he doesn't do it a second time.

868 Now one old man from the group of camps [extended family] might say, "I
865 have a fine boy. He is hard to beat." Then perhaps my father would say, "I
526 have a good boy. Bring your boy in." In they come. Everybody is around. The other boys who are novices are there too, waiting. They match these two, and

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868 526 492 Practice in handling and riding horses under all conditions is a regular part of the training. The boy is taught to ride bareback, to control the horse with only a rope around its nose, and to ride down a steep incline, picking up objects from the ground as he goes. He is also judged as he rides full speed toward a barrier and tries to halt his horse just before reaching it, or jumps the horse over hurdles.

868 526 One of the last activities of this phase of the training is a cross-country run. The route that is to be covered is laid out. There are no long halts, and the boys try to refrain from eating for the two days of this journey. Not until the afternoon of the second [866] day may they kill animals for food. The boys do not sleep until the race is over. A variation is to make a group of boys walk all night to see if they can withstand fatigue.

868 554 866 The boys who achieve a position of superiority during this training period rise to pre-eminence in their age group. The tasks which lie ahead are close enough in spirit to those in which they have already excelled so that their futures are reasonably assured. The foundations of status recognitions are laid in the training period, therefore.

503 152 570 828 [868] Paternal affection is reinterpreted when the training period begins. No longer is it indulgence. "Because a Chiricahua parent loves his child," he insists upon duties which are often painful, for in his opinion this is the only way "his son will eventually make a living." There is no rancor involved; certainly no conscious cruelty or sadism.

152 156 577 828 This attitude penetrates deeply to the core of all response and behavior. Demonstrativeness is considered unbecoming; what cannot be translated into action need not be protested. Since stoicism and strength are underlined, displays of personal consideration and "softness" must be repressed. Only at times of crisis and of great grief, in appeals to the supernatural, or during mourning do the people permit the emotions full expression.

868 869 The girl's destiny as a dutiful wife is made very clear to her while she is still a child. The father may say, "We want to rear you well so people won't talk about us; we want to get something out of your marriage, so we want to take care of you."

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Women school the girls in obedience "so that their husbands won't hear saucy words from them." 867

The girl's training is less formalized than that of the boy. It amounts to a greater and greater association with the duties of her mother, older sisters, and other female relatives, until she attains adult standards in the quality of work she can perform. 868

At this time, when the little girl is first learning to do women's work, her hair is done up in the style worn by young women: 868 302

> In the old days the young woman had her hair done up. She took it in one bunch and wrapped it up in back. Then she put a hair ornament on, and it covered the knot of hair and was tied in the middle. The hair ornament was made out of buckskin or cowhide. It had to be stiff. In my day they covered the hide with cloth. The color was usually red. . . . .
>
> The hair ornament was put on as soon as the girl was ten or twelve years old. It had nothing to do with the girl's feast [puberty rite]. There was no ceremony connected with it that I know of. The mother would make it. The only thing I know about it is that they said anyone who had the hair done up that way would have very long hair, for it would grow long while it was done up that way. They told this to the little girls, and it was generally true. [301] [852]

One of the earliest tasks given the little girl is the care of still younger members of the family. She is also instructed in the use of the tumpline and is expected to help bring in wood and water. 868 857

These simple household tasks are supposed to be shared by children of both sexes, but the boy is hardly old enough to be of appreciable assistance when he senses the sexual division of labor: "After my father was gone I worked a little around the house, getting wood, carrying water, and helping my mother. I was ashamed to do that though. It was woman's work. The other boys used to pass by and see me and make fun of me." It is not long before the boy has to be released entirely from such duties to follow his companions in their training and sports. But the girl is encouraged to continue and intensify her interest in household affairs.

However, like the boy, she must train herself to be strong and vigorous. She is told to rise early, to run often, and to shun no hard work. Tales are frequently told of girls so fleet that they rival boys in races. Such swiftness and strength are necessary, for girls must be able to get quickly to safety in case of attack on the camp. 866 868 526

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MATURATION

THE MOLDING OF SEX ATTITUDES

867 WHILE the child is very young and is still unable to comprehend the social forms which differentiate one class of relationship from another, he is little inhibited. But with his introduction to the ideas clustering around the sibling and cousin relationships comes the first pressure toward reserve between the sexes. Soon this trend is fortified by the increasing separation of boys and girls for play and amusement. Since the youngster is with members of his own sex so much of the time, the feeling of shyness when he is in the company of the other sex becomes pronounced.

864 The parents try to instil the proper attitudes regarding personal matters: "When the children are about six years old, they 863 begin to notice things, so the parents are very careful to urinate and to have sexual intercourse in private and to speak carefully. The children thus grow up the way they are supposed to." What cannot be concealed from the child, he is taught to ignore. Thus, a young man, in telling of serious temptations which he had successfully withstood, could explain: "My early training helped me. For I was brought up in Indian camps where it is hard to be private and where we were trained to pay no attention to such things."

867 There is a definite etiquette of modest deportment. The girl is 864 taught to sit with her legs close together, flexed back and to one side, so that her genitals will never be exposed. Children of both 863 sexes are told to leave the dwelling quietly without reference to their errand when they go to the brush. If some explanation is necessary, a simple, "I am going out," is the customary phrase. This modesty becomes habitual and extends to all situations.

[883] Older boys went swimming in the creek too. The girls would not go swimming then. The bigger boys didn't go over where the girls were swimming because the girls were naked. When I was about fourteen years old or so, I kept apart from the older girls. I became ashamed then.

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836 Premarital chastity is expected in the girl. The maidenhead is considered the proof of virginity. A marriage may be abrogated [586] if a bride is found to have been unchaste, and a girl who is deserted [585] for this reason brings disgrace to herself and her family.

But, because of the heightened round of physical activity at about the time of adolescence and the encouragement of early marriage, premarital sexual activity does not become a serious 462 problem. Of great importance, also, is the existence of separate 867 spheres of activity for men and women. This dichotomy tends to draw the child's interest away from situations which involve the other sex and causes him to seek recognition, rather, in those outlets unequivocally masculine or unequivocally feminine.

867 An Apache boy is trained not to pay too much attention to the women. It is 834 not considered manly. The Apache girl is expected to be reserved, and a show of affection in public between the sexes is laughed at. This training becomes a part of the Apache's thought. He sees it all around him. He notices who is laughed at and who is thought well of, and why. This bashfulness, the unwillingness openly to show a lot of feeling for one of the other sex, is carried right through. It comes out in courtship. It comes out even in marriage.

834 Of an aberrant girl who violates the conventions in this re- 156 gard, the following criticism was offered:

Unlike most Chiricahua girls, she is not bashful. If she came in the room here, she would start talking to you. Lots of the old Indians hold this against her. It is considered too forward for a boy to walk up to a girl and start talking a lot. But when I see this girl I go up to her and start talking. I wouldn't dare do that with any other woman. She will hail someone at a dance before a lot of other people. Many of the older people do not like her for this.

834 Since casual contact between the sexes is discouraged, any overt signs of friendliness between men and women suggest the desire for intimacy. Once when an informant had gone to some trouble to reach a man's camp, he declined to wait there for his friend who was expected back in a short time, saying, "Well, it wouldn't look well if C. came and found me here with these women. C. and I are great friends, and I wouldn't want him to think anything bad of me."

"The feeling is that a man should go his way with his friends and a woman her way with her friends." Anything else is effemi- [836] nacy on the man's part, forwardness on the woman's. These are

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88 574 346 361 The visitors build temporary camps to the south, west, and north of the space reserved for the ceremonial tepee. A long lane to the east must be left unobstructed.

At the beginning of the ceremony, custody of the girl will pass into the hands of the attendant and the singer. But before this 867 the girl is reminded by her parents of the seriousness of her role and is advised to be obedient and cheerful. However, these ideals are not always attained.

> Some of the girls are bashful. They have a time with them! They had a time with them in the old days too; I've heard stories about it. Some girls had to be whipped before they'd go through with it. Some of them got scolded before everyone. . . . They talk to her, tell her to be good, but the girl gets mean some-t[illegible]

The exact manner of deciding when the ceremony shall begin is subject to some variation. According to one account, the proper starting-point should fall four days after the onset of menstruation. Most informants agree that the rite may begin "when everything is ready." Some see a tendency for the group in charge to set the time for fall, "when food is plentiful," although theoretically the ceremony may occur any time of the year.

515 388 824 Before sunrise of the first day the girl washes her hair in yucca-root suds. Then she presents herself before the attendant, either at a special shelter erected for her care or at the home of the older woman.

88 793 346 788 The attendant first puts pollen on the girl's head and face and across the bridge of her nose before anything starts the first morning. Then the woman prays over her that she may advance to good womanhood. From then on her womanhood begins. No man is allowed to go in there at this time.

Then the woman arranges the girl's hair and dresses her, beginning with the right moccasin, then the left, and continuing up to the head. She ties two eagle feathers at the back of the girl's head. The girl always faces the sunrise while 782 this is being done. The woman prays for the girl while she is dressing her, and 533 some even sing if they have songs and the girl wants them sung. The men do not say much about this dressing. This is the woman's part, and men are not supposed to say much about it. When the girl is all dressed, it is all right for a man to see her. After the dressing you have to call the girl "White Painted Woman."

262 788 The girl must not eat anything up to now. Then, the first day, when the girl

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is dressed but before she has eaten anything, the woman gives her yucca fruit with a cross of pollen on it. She first holds it to the directions, motions three times toward the girl with it, and puts it in her mouth the fourth time. This is to give her a good appetite; if she is fed with Indian fruits and piñon nuts and all the good things at this time, the girl will have a good appetite throughout life.

The attendant now advises the girl:

881 793 [211] [413]

She tells her how to drink water through the tube [of carrizo, suspended from the fringe of the dress on the right side], how to scratch herself with the stick [from a fruit- or nut-bearing tree; the scratcher hangs on the left side of the dress]. She tells the girl that she must not scratch herself with her nails, because, if she does, it will leave scars, and that she must not touch water with her lips but must use the tube for eight days or it will rain.

She tells the girl not to eat too much, because she must stay in the tepee most of the time, and she shouldn't go out in the brush much.

She tells the girl that she mustn't go around except where she is told she can go, that she should stay in the tepee most of the time for the four days of the ceremony and then for four days afterward, until she takes these clothes off.

The woman tells the girl not to talk much during this time and not to laugh, because her face will be old and wrinkled before her time if she does. And she tells the girl that for the ceremony and for four days after it she should not wash. She has pollen on, and if she should put her hand in water and wash it off, it would rain like anything. She tells the girl that if it rains and she goes out in it, that will make it rain harder. If the girl gets wet, it will be rainy and spoil the good time of the people. She must not even go to a spring or look up at the sky, for the rain clouds would gather if she did.[1] [821]

[868] [867]

And these old women talk to the girl about cooking and women's work too. They tell her to think what it means and to believe what the singer tells her, for, if she does not believe, it will not do her any good. And the girl is told to mind and not to make fun of anyone. She is told that she must not get angry or curse anyone till the ceremony is all over for her, till the eight days are over. For the Chiricahua believe that the disposition a girl shows at the time of the ceremony will be hers all through life. If she gets angry, she is going to be mean the rest of her life. They say, too, that if a girl doesn't mind at this time, bad weather comes. If she is pleasant and goes through the ceremony well, she will always be that way.

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And it seems to me that it turns out this way. There's my wife. She went through the ceremony very well, obeyed, and was good. You take C.; she was mean and balky when she was going around that basket. Today she's very mean. My wife went through first, a year or so ahead of C. Then C. went

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[1] One informant stated that the singer may not wash his hair during the rite, presumably to prevent rainfall.

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881 not undergone it is not cheerfully received by members of a raid-
868 ing party he seeks to join. "Some do not volunteer. They are
702 looked down upon. They cannot go on the warpath." Yet the
721 youth who is unprepared is not goaded into premature participation. "If a boy thinks he can't stand it, he doesn't go." Nor does any boy start out ignorant of what he faces: "When a boy wants to volunteer, his relatives tell him of the hardships and dangers. If he still wants to go, they let him."

Once a boy has declared his intention of becoming a novice, he receives advice to guide his conduct during the four expeditions:

The first four times are important because, if a man shows himself to be unreliable and disobedient these first four times, that will remain his nature throughout expeditions and battles. The boys are told this, and they try to be at their best during this time. So they don't cause much trouble.

[834] While you are a novice you have to watch out for your morals. If you are loose when you come back from one of these expeditions and have a lot of sexual intercourse, it will be your nature through life. Boys are instructed from the [867] start about this. These things are impressed on them: "Don't be a coward; [599] don't be untruthful; don't eat too much when you come back to camp between raids, or that will be your nature." So during the entire period the boy puts out his best [effort] and behaves his best.

881 One informant testified that the necessary information was
868 imparted to him by his father. Another claimed that "a relative
702 teaches the boy; a special man is not needed." Yet from still
756 other accounts it is clear that shamans whose rites center about
721 the location and frustration of the enemy and the granting of invulnerability in battle often prepare the youths for these journeys. Their selection is logical, for "these shamans, the 'bow [714] shamans,' also make the jackets and other things which protect a man in battle." Often a number of young men of the same age [561] are put in the care of one shaman.

All the volunteers are gathered and instructed by the shaman. They are taught the words and how they should conduct themselves. They are given a general outline of what they should do. It takes just a few days to learn.

[714] The inexperienced boys who are on the raid for the first time have a certain [291] kind of hat. And they are the only ones who have the drinking-tube along. The [413] drinking-tube has a scratching-stick attached to it; that is, on the same cord. This scratching-stick is about five inches long and is made from the wood of any tree that bears fruit.

[714] The shaman in charge of the boys makes the hats for them. There is no pay-

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MARRIAGE ARRANGEMENTS, MARRIAGE, AND RESIDENCE

582 [584] Most marriages are arranged in terms of a conventional pattern in which the wishes of the families involved carry much weight. The early completion of the girl's training, the need of the encampment for additional young men, and the disapproval of premarital sex experience for women are all factors contributing to the tendency for girls to marry young. Therefore, "the [881] girl is allowed to marry by Chiricahua rule after her ceremony, after her first menstruation."[2]

881 864 At the time of puberty the girl is given the advice necessary to guide her actions in caring for herself at the time of menstruation and in regulating her relations with men:

> They tell the girls how to keep clean during menstruation. There are no restrictions on a woman at this time; she can eat any food and she can go around. But the girls are told to wear their old clothes during menstruation and that they must not leave them around. They are shown how to wear something like a loincloth with a pad at this time. The girls are also reminded of the effect of menstrual blood on men. They are told that it makes men paralyzed and deformed, unable to straighten their arms or legs. The girls are also told that they can ride mares but not male horses during menstruation.

881 861 836 581 And they tell a girl that she must stay pure until her marriage, that virginity is expected of a woman who has not been married before. They tell her that a man might leave a woman who is not a virgin, that the maidenhead is the sign of virginity, and if a woman is not proved a virgin by this means at marriage, a man would get angry and the marriage would be broken up.

581 [582] The young man cannot look forward to so early a marriage, for he must first prove his ability to provide for and defend a family by participating in the four raiding parties.

Marriage is considered less a romantic venture than a solid economic arrangement, though personal and individual values are by no means totally eliminated:

> Many of the old people think of marriage from the economic side. They advise a man to marry and have a home because they figure that the man will then be serious, will provide for his family, and get ahead. On the other hand, you can't disregard physical love either. Whether or not the old people think of this, the young ones do. I often hear people remarking that some boy has married just for love and wasn't sensible enough to take a girl who was a good worker and

[178] [2] Some informants deny this and even complain that "the girls marry too young today," but the evidence of former early marriage is conclusive.

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Then, too, you may have to go and talk to her about important things. If you are separated from your wife and you trust your mother-in-law, you may get the help of somebody at your mother-in-law's camp to see that she is safely inside so you won't run into her. Then, standing outside, you may talk to her.

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The father-in-law, too, may find it necessary to state his views directly:

I talked to that boy, her husband. I said, "I'm talking to you. This day means something. It shouldn't be wasted. This day means something to everybody. Every day means that you should bring in something to eat. Make it count; work and make something. If you have nothing to eat, your wife cannot cook anything for you. It's not your place to be angry at your wife because you don't have anything to eat. Look at her clothes. Many things rest on you. It's the man's duty to bring in the meat and clothes. You can't expect the woman to do that."

I said, "My daughter, it is your place to keep house. Keep everything neat about your place. Keep yourself neat the way you were when I was raising you. Wear good clothes. Keep your husband's clothes clean. Keep your fire going all the time. Quit running around nights and doing things as though you were single. Don't fuss at each other."

And I said to the boy, "A woman must be treated well because she feeds you; she's the only friend you have. Your mother and father can't treat you better than your wife does. That's the way I feel about my wife." I told him, "She's the mother of the whole thing, this life you have to go through, and you may have a long life."

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When quarrels arise among a man's affinal relatives, it is to his advantage to be as neutral as possible, so that his relatives-in-law, and particularly his wife's parents, will not condemn him for intrusion into their affairs.

Now there's trouble at my place. My wife's stepmother told her that a cousin said something about her. So my wife hasn't gone over to visit that cousin for a long time. The cousin sees me and asks me why, but I make excuses and never say. But then my wife met this cousin and told her the truth. The next day this cousin came over to the stepmother and asked, "Did you tell that woman I said so-and-so?" The stepmother said, "No." So now the cousin says my wife made it all up. I thought it best to let my father-in-law know that I'm not taking sides, that I'm only an in-law here. He says that it's all right, he does not hold it against me. It's the nature of women, and we shouldn't bother about it, he says.

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But it would be superficial to infer that the husband is constantly tyrannized by his avoidance affinities. They would be ill advised, indeed, to drive to divorce a man who is discharging

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practice of ritual, the distribution that this fosters is constant and equitable.

It is gift-giving that largely takes the place of trade, though the difference is mostly one of phrasing. There is the feeling that exchanges should depend upon an implicit reciprocity to be worked out in individual relations rather than in terms of declared measures of value. One speaks of "giving" instead of "selling." But it is understood that generosity begets generosity and that a man loses nothing by kindness to his neighbors. Thus a father caps advice to his son with this admonition: "Do not be stingy and mean. Treat people right. Give half of what you have. Then you will be invited to feasts and get presents."

The openhanded individual builds up a fund of friends who will serve him in good stead whenever he needs assistance, material or moral. One informant told how a member of a certain family gave gifts to his wife. "Now they are our friends" was his comment. The implication is that some gesture on his part will be forthcoming later, for this is an almost inevitable consequence of friendship initiated in this way.

Reputation and social standing are significantly related to generosity, and, even if the individual gains no more than added prestige, he does not regret his philanthropy:

> Gifts are given because we are sympathetic to one another. If someone needs food, we help him in a material way, for we feel that we are one people. We feel that way to a man who is poor. Giving is a great thing to the Chiricahua. A man can make a great reputation by giving.

Acceptance of a gift is felt by the receiver as a claim upon him to be adjusted in his own time and way:

> You are ashamed to borrow a horse, a bow, or other things, for that shows that you are not a real man and have not been on the raid and obtained things for yourself. To start out, the young man would be given the necessities. Giving is a great thing with us. I don't think there was much selling in the old days, but there was always lots of giving.
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> Even now there is not much selling. I could walk up to any man and ask for a horse. Even though I don't know him well I have a good chance of getting it. I've been offered horses. C. offered me a horse, but I never took it. I didn't take it because I did not want to feel under obligation to him. He just offered it to show his friendship. This was done in the old days a great deal.

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of the murderer, who either leaves the region as soon as he realizes the consequence of his act or is advised by his relatives to stay away until bitterness against him has abated or compensation has been arranged. His family may be implicated in his escape to the extent of furnishing him supplies and keeping his destination secret. Sometimes it is impossible to conciliate the aggrieved family, and the exile is forced to remain away—to join some other band or even some other tribe.

But usually, as soon as he is safe, a strong movement for a peaceful settlement is launched. It is the duty of the group leader to lend his moral weight toward this solution. He tries to bring representatives of the two families together at a council where generosity is likely to be acclaimed. If the plan succeeds, an old and respected member of one of the families steps forward finally and says something like this: "Let us not have trouble. We eat the same food, walk upon the same earth, breathe the same air, and the same sun is over us. There is no reason why we should have trouble between us. Let there be peace." This truce is then solidified by the passage of valuable gifts to the family of the slain person. Now a spokesman for the murderer is free to voice his plea: "We all know our friend, and we are sorry for what has happened. What has happened cannot be helped though, and now our friend has given valuable presents, and we wish to take him back into our people. Let us go on living together and forget what has happened."

Yet the animosity often continues to smolder latently. A polite but unmistakable antagonism between two men, for instance, was explained in this way:

> He has it in for L.. It was his uncle that L. killed in Alabama. They got drunk, and somehow L. hit the other man on the head with a bottle. This case was supposed to be patched up, but it has never been forgotten. That's the way it is in lots of these cases. They can't get out of their minds what was done to their relative, and they look for some other excuse to start trouble.

In all probability the greatest deterrent to antisocial conduct is not the specific penalty for the offense but the concern over social disapproval. The influence of this factor is diffuse and difficult to trace in detail, but children and adults alike are exhorted to remember what others will say and think of their behavior.

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Clearly, whatever his antecedents, a man must show presence and a willingness to assume responsibilities if he is to be accepted as a leader: 622 554

I don't look on N. as a leader. His father was one all right. I don't believe others think of him as a leader either. I have never heard him speak in public. If he would stand up in public and talk, if he would take part in public affairs, he probably would be considered a leader. Often now I hear people say to him, "Why don't you do something? Why don't you take an interest in these things?" But he just doesn't care for it. There are two other men here whose fathers were leaders. But they are just common men now.

The man mentioned in the above excerpt has supplied his own interpretation of his status: "Some people call me leader because my father was a leader. But I don't take it that way. I'm just like a poor man. I have no horses, no cattle. I don't live in a good house. I live just the way [other] Indians live, in a camp."

"Sometimes a leader's son refuses the responsibility," but the expectancy is that he or a close relative will succeed the head man. It is assumed that the leader has given his young relative the benefit of his knowledge and has prepared him for the position by the most rigorous training: 622 554 867 868

A young man, the son of a leader, has no excuse for not knowing what his father knew. Therefore, a young man is expected to be able to take the job. He is expected to act like a young man no longer. He is expected to have lots of sense.

Someone teaches him how to lead his people, so that they will not be in danger of starvation, how to select well-watered sites for camping, where to go after deer, and how to lead men into battle.

The leadership idea came from Child of the Water. When he was on earth, he was a leader. The leadership is usually kept in the same family; it is just handed down. If a man's father, uncle, grandfather, or someone else in the family is a leader, the boy is in line to be one too. Then he is especially trained for this. He is instructed by his parents or grandparents to be a leader.

The son of the leader is the first choice when the leader dies or isn't active any more. Most of the leaders I knew were sons of leaders. The chief's children get special advice and act in a different way. Because he is trained in a good way right from the start, the leader's son usually turns out to be a real man.

It is customary for the leader to be a man of wealth too, for the backing of prominent relatives and the attention bestowed 622 554 556